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with the exception of the top. It is decorated with a band of indifferently colored porcupine quills similar to that placed on moccasins. A headband or a squirrel skin cap is added to confine the hair. One such band (50.2–126) is made of a strip of deer legskin, with the ends sewed with a running stitch. (The sinew, as in all sewing, is prevented from pulling out by a simple knot in each end.)

Women's hair is banged below the eyebrows to the outside of the eyes and at the sides and back to the shoulders or a little below. When rather long it tends to fall in front of the face; it is then brushed back, not over the shoulders, but so that it can be caught under the chin. Or the locks above the ears are tied together at the occiput, enclosing those at the temples.[1] Girls' hair is dressed like that of their mothers. Cushing observed that the small boy's hair was cut short except for a long tuft on top, "like the crest of a quail."

Feathers are, perhaps, worn only on gala occasions; their function, when worn at dances, by men and women, is to cause the rain to fall. Only eagle feathers are used and the down is preferred to the plumes. The typical decoration is a bunch of down, 20 to 25 cm. long, pendent in the back from a cord, 10 to 15 cm. in length, tied to the top of the head. (The cord, lapping the quill, is bound to it with a wrapping of sinew.) Plumes are also stuck upright in the headband at the right temple. One specimen (50.2–1628) consists of two plumes 37 cm. long, placed side by side, and held in place by a sinew lashing and a peg piercing both. Two small downy feathers are lashed to the shaft of each at its tip.

Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind.[2]

Fig. 46 (50.2–1594). A Mescal Fiber Hairbrush bound with Buckskin.

The hairbrush (*tcĕ'ĭ*, any brush) is a bundle of stiff fibers from mescal leaves, folded in two, and bound with buckskin halfway to the free ends. A cap of buckskin or cloth is stuck over the butt with piñon pitch and tied about with a thong. A new brush is 11 to 13 cm. long by 2 to 4 cm. in diameter (Fig. 46). As the fibers break off in use, the end is evened by burning. The principal use of brushes is by women; men, as a

[1] It is not held in the mouth in the manner of the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgd*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. [527] [535] [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. [648] [527] [571] [621] [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to gather pifion nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return." When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent him another to carry it. So the boy got well. 755

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white: it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves. At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative of a patient who died. 756

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly they are called *gĭθiyĕ'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it; then he would try to produce rain. 791 [787]

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant stated that the singing did not take place in a sweatlodge; yet, on another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweatlodge. At the moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great 791 789

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789 791 lightning and rain. Suddenly the storm broke, everyone scattered, and the two heard the hail pounding on the lodge.

There is a more extended performance for producing rain. A ring of brush is made, within which men sit in a circle with Rock Jones[1] at the center. At his command they rise (but do not dance) and sing about the white clouds, the big black storm clouds, the lightning and thunder, rain, the wind blowing hard, storm water running on the ground, the foam on it, and so on. When they tire he orders them to sit; then they sing again. This makes rain aplenty (so attests Sinyella, who has taken part); the ground is wet, the grass grows well for the horses to fatten on, all the seeds grow plentifully, and everyone is happy. Rock Jones' hair, face, and body are painted white; this represents white clouds. His face and body are also colored black and red for the storm clouds and the red hue of the clouds at dawn and sunset. For a robe he wears a big buckskin tied by its legs over the right shoulder and hanging under his left arm. He wears moccasins, leggings, and buckskin pants. An eagle tail plume is thrust upright in his hair; to the tip of this the largest, softest down from under these tail feathers is tied. Two similar plumes are thrust crosswise through his front hair like horns. His gourd rattle, a flat one, is painted longitudinally with zigzag stripes of red, white, and black. The other men are stripped to the waist: hair, face, and trunk are painted white. Some also had buckskin for robes.

756 224 791 It is not altogether clear that those who are specially endowed to cure snake bites, fractures, and wounds, or to hunt deer, etc., should be classed with the shamans. A man may continually dream of the deer; he sings about it. Finally he hunts and finds that the deer stand while he approaches, for they do not fear him; so he is able to kill many. He informs others who then hunt with him. Such is called a deer doctor (*dgwidgd gîsdmd*). He is good at catching such animals as mountain sheep, jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, etc., but he has no control over foxes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, or mountain lions. There are various other 756 kinds of doctors, among them, those for sickness (*gwetdvŏg gîsdmd*), for fractures (*pakaûd gîsdmd*), for wounds (*nahdmî'dvîdjd gîsdmd*), for stomach trouble (*nundlaîdjî gdsdmdvd*), and for snakes (*dluwî sdmd gd*). Both doctor and medicine are called *gîsamd*.[2]

Doctors for stomach trouble practise only on infants still in the cradle, who are afflicted with disturbances of the bowels because their,

[1] I do not know if this procedure is used by other shamans.
[2] There is mythical reference to a wind-and-black-cloud doctor (*mdtthatî dmdîtagd'djî dgîdmdvîdj*). "Your nose [black cloud] off and make it dark," he is told [Spier, (f), 113].

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àswö'gà	gwewâlà	wi'và	mà'dg	539
prayerstick	feathers	I put in spring,	look at it	778
				782

matš'kmidjpágàhögwïg'i.
plenty more come.

Taboos and Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs

Proscribed types of action are not numerous in Havasupai life; whether they are less binding on that account remains to be discovered. What happens when taboos conflict, as may well occur, was put to a test. Sinyella, when reminded that the father of an infant may not eat nor even touch a mountain lion for fear the baby will sicken, although quivers are made of this skin, replied: "It is all right for any man to carry a mountain lion quiver, but a young man must not touch the beast's flesh. Should he find a deer of which the lion has eaten, he should put sand over the chewed parts. Old men can eat this meat, but not women with infants, for if one does the baby will have stomach trouble." On another occasion, asked why the baby sickened, he said that wolves, mountain lions, and eagles are bad animals; that they contaminate the carcass as with poison. As for the reason that it is the infant, not the parent, who sickens: "Mountain Lion and Wolf said long ago that it would be like that." 784 753 784

Other taboos affect the habits of a couple at birth (pp. 300, 304). The unborn child will be left-handed if the mother uses hers (p. 300). There must be no intercourse before a deer hunt (p. 110). The dead are not named (p. 304) and the crops from a dead man's land are not ordinarily used (p. 233). A boy should not smoke until he kills a coyote and he does not eat his first deer (p. 324). 784

Magical practices mentioned in other connections may also be resumed here. There are special observances at a woman's periods (p. 326): they drink an abalone shell concoction to conceive (p. 301). A string figure is made to forecast the sex of an unborn child (p. 300). The child's first hair is preserved so that later hair will grow, and the umbilical cord is smeared on the child (p. 304). The fate of one twin affects the other (p. 301). Arrowheads are worn to prevent misfortune and ear lobes pierced to prevent deafness (p. 194). Burning with a slow match prevents rheumatism and throwing it back improves the memory (p. 323). The property of the dead is destroyed (p. 292). There is a definite procedure before a deer hunt (p. 109). Mush is the first thing cooked in a pot to make it inexhaustible (p. 140). Race colts are sung over (p. 337). The musical bow is used to make an opponent lose (p. 789

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789 338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

302 I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use
754 them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

[572] As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

789 A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Itckdyúgdlga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*I'ipdgwcâwd*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind
[534] blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed
[821] with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to
[825] produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He
[827] then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígdlyúg sadá'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch
825 the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555.
[2] See Montezuma for an account of these.

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of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 160; Hasserlin und Günther, 33.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 306–308; Bourke, (c), 502; (e), 430; Mason, J. A., (c), 15; Russell, (c), 82, 106 (". . . rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-man deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").

[3] Lumholtz, (c), II, 134, 197, 303–309; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (a), 249; (d), 131.

[4] Dixon, (a), 344. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 99872). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.

[5] Corbusier, 336; Dixon, (a), 366.

[6] Hough, (c), 204; Bourke, (a), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (a), 16.

[7] Kroeber, (b), 396.

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ern Maidu, and Shivwits Paiute it is only a toy.[1] The Ute also know it. The Luiseño and Dieguefio use it to summon people ceremonially.[2] It has ceremonial usage among the Pomo. While the Arapaho model with its serrated edges resembles the Havasupai, it may be that this is a device to increase the sound independently arrived at.

The distribution of the notched rattle, or musical rasp was briefly discussed by Lowie years ago. It is now possible to augment his list of tribes who use it: Havasupai, Hopi, Zuñi, Rio Grande Pueblos,[3] Jicarilla, Navaho, Pima, Papago, probably Yaqui, Tarasco (?), Huichol, and Aztec specimens have been found in the state of Mexico.[4] In the Great Basin and Plains its occurrence is among the Moapa, Paviotso, Gosiute, Uintah Ute, Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Upland Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Wichita, and Tonkawa.[5] The Paviotso also have a form which should undoubtedly be included; this is a stuffed hide wound from end to end to form the rasp. Its distribution appears to be along the western plateaus with some extension into the Plains. It is not used by Californian tribes with the sole exception of the Salinan.[6]

The rasp is scraped with a scapula by the Hopi, Zuñi, Jicarilla, Papago, and Huichol; elsewhere a stick or bone of another sort is used. The Hopi rest the rasp on a gourd resonator; the Havasupai, Jicarilla, Pima, Papago, and Klamath use an inverted basket, the Wichita a rawhide. The Gosiute draw the notched stick across the edge of an inverted basket. This suggests the Southern Dieguefio reference to scraping a basket.[7]

The Havasupai associate this rasping sound with the frog and the production of rain. They have also a mythical reference to tearing a frog apart and thus causing a flood. These have analogs elsewhere. The Pima call the notched rattle a "rain stick," for rubbing it brings rain. The Northern Shoshoni believe that killing a frog and placing it on its back will cause rain; the Northern Maidu that chasing it will come to the same end.[8] There is also a connection of the frog with fog and thunder suggested in a Southern Ute myth, the frog and a flood in one of the Luiseño, and an association of the frog and rain by the Klamath.[9]

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[1] Dixon, (a), 309; Lowie, (i), 287; Kroeber, (b), 191.
[2] Sparkman, 211; Spier, (a), 324–330.
[3] Hough, (a), 293; Stevenson, J., Fig. 361.
[4] Russell, (a), 370; Curtis, I, 88; Goddard, (b), 263; (c), 170; Franciscan Fathers, 402; Hrdlička, (c), 41; Russell, (d), 167; Davis, (b), 169; Lumholtz, (c), II, 155, 428; Saville, (c); Starr, (b).
[5] Lowie, (i), 209, 303; Reagan, 30; Lowie, (a), 219, 220; Sapir, (c), 306; Dorsey, G. A., (a), 17.
[6] Hopkins, 58; Mason, J. A., (a), 188; Kroeber, (c), 277.
[7] Brown, 689; Spier, (c), 340.
[8] Lowie, (c), 322; Dixon, (a), 309.
[9] Lowie, (k), 55; Du Bois, (c), 188; compare the Omaha association of the turtle and frog. (Dorsey, J. O., 240).

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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*nahaml'dildjā swildlgā*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [155] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgwlgā*, race by two; *tanomdgowlgā*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 135° F. (outside 73°F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 140°-150° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that, "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 145°" [(d), 48]. [345]

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tatpā'ā*) was a lump compounded of wool and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [Hrdlička, (e), 46]. [171]

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541 giêa giyi giyi goidoŋ àvoŋhai isunéa heneyá (repeat)
789 gàdigánàgóagó nóŋàgábá isunéa hineyá
533 A second song is:—
[539] si'i'i'ike'ego hasiáŋà hasiáŋà hasiáŋàŋàŋà yóilgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiydgd*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigwi'ówigd*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jelka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [189 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

842 of the pregnant woman by such gestures as covering the face with the hands.

[237] A remedy for barrenness, as related by one informant, was to drink the water in which a rat's nest, saturated with urine and feces, had been boiled.

Intercourse and Continence

843 833 Spier (1928, 301) was told that sexual relations were improper during pregnancy. There is now some difference of opinion on the matter among informants. The majority assert that continence ought to be observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagree on the time, setting it from one month to as much as five or six months before parturition.

One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights) which she believed to be about right for the well-being of both child and mother. All informants agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they thought it undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and observed that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach," they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

842 If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed features like all of the fathers," asserted one informant.

843 Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

Powers of a Pregnant Woman

843 ●789 During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others maintained that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer, al-

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time. 843 789

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time." [777] [525]

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself." 843

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death. 843 262 825 [753]

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ö?wi?gath? ǵwă (rock split apart) and ö?ih?ga'č? ǵwăv? (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 26 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1929 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnography is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of those statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.